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CHAPTER 7

Cosmopolitan Renaissance: Prints in the Age of Exchange

Stephanie Leitch

With an eye trained on the finances of his print shop, the Antwerp publisher Gregorius de Bonte plugs his Dutch edition of Apian's *Cosmographie* as a suitable alternative to globe trotting. Instead of incurring the physical and emotional costs of travel, he urges his reader to:

> Stay at home and save your money, (instead) buy a copy (of this book) and you won't regret it.
> If you want to travel carefree throughout the world
> And view the countries without injury to yourself, (then buy this book …)
> Because that which costs least will gratify you the most.[1]

Despite his overtly mercenary pitch to the reader, he was merely underscoring the job that prints had been in the habit of doing for some time: delivering an ersatz experience of global cultures. In fact, the notion of globalism was already a fixture in the sixteenth-century print market, so much so that publishers like de Bonte, perhaps disingenuously, tried to assuage the anxiety it produced. Even as they claimed to try to relieve the reader of the physical taxation such contemplation of the globe incurred, publishers were themselves partly to blame for it. Especially in Antwerp, possibly the most cosmopolitan center in northern Europe in early modernity, there was a large market hungry for news about the world—and information to meet this demand was being served up on title pages and within the books themselves. De Bonte angles for a new audience in more ways than one; not only was he aiming for a new breed of armchair travellers, he was also targeting new levels of literacy. Just after his introduction, he emphasizes that the cosmography can now be experienced in new vernaculars: "Den welcken dit teghenwoordich boeck der Cosmographien Apiani/ uiten latÿne in duytsche nu eerst getranslateert zeer behulpich sal wesen."[2]

1 Petrus Apian, *Cosmographie, Oft Beschrijvinghe Der geheelder Werelt van Petrus Apianus. Derdwerf nu ghecorrigeert van Gemma Frisio* (Antwerp: de Bonte, 1553), fol. 1v.

2 Apian, *Cosmographie*, fol. 2r.

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Locating the world within the cosmos was the intellectual aim of Apian's text, and as such, it mirrored the objectives of cartographic and travel literature in general: situating the local within a global paradigm. This essay will argue that knowledge about the globe was transmitted through print in early modernity and in many ways mimicked the transmission patterns of print itself, from its establishment in cosmopolitan communities by international actors and its circulation. Prints contributed to the idea of a highly international world in at least three important ways: through circulation patterns that established cosmopolitan marketplaces; through the making of transnational content in genres that expressed geographic difference through global bodies; and lastly, through the epistemology of the marketplace that expressed values that privileged exchange. Transcultural knowledge embodied new values and new concerns to which the market gave rise, new points of origin (new themes, new practices, new collaborations), and new styles.

Global Art History and Prints

Prints have earned their position in the marketplace of global studies through their very materiality. Their portability and their circulation penetrated borders and thus frustrate anachronistic nationalistic and/or geographic distinctions of earlier Renaissance paradigms, and deflated claims about particular types of vision that might have attended these old distinctions. Calls to reject anachronistic and culturally divisive nationalisms in favor of a Renaissance that was diverse, admitting of its own patchwork beginnings, grounded in exchange, and exemplary of complex connections between cultures have become increasingly urgent.[3] Studies of historiography's periodized and nationalized boundaries that artistic diffusion and exchange defies has prompted demands to re-map our investigations of early modern artistic identity.[4] In fact, prints' ready-made-for-an-international-market qualities militated against the privileging of one type of seeing—inherent in their production was their fate to circulate widely and their intended reception in a market driven by international exchange.

3 For an assessment of these points of view, see Claire J. Farago, *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450–1650* (New Haven, 1995); and Peter Erickson and Clark Hulse, *Early Modern Visual Culture: Representation, Race, Empire in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia, 2000).

4 See Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art* (Chicago, 2004).

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For their role in the establishment of early modern publics, prints have already been called to account for underwriting these efforts. While Benedict Anderson has implicated printed media in the rhetoric of nineteenth-century imagined groupings such as entities whose contours were drawn by presses aimed towards shaping national audiences, this was merely an outgrowth of earlier cosmopolitan practices.[5] If nationalist histories were served by the activity of presses, prints' circulation exposes the folly of practicing these in isolation. The concept of Europe itself was fortified by early modern writings that defined selves as critical parts of larger entities, and especially in relation to others. Cosmopolitan identities were shaped in critical moments of overseas expansions, through such projects like Luís Camões's *Os Lusíades* in Portugal, and Thomas More's *Utopia* in England.[6] The notion of uniting the Republic of Letters within the fold of early modern Latinity was a project that print expanded. These texts were complemented by cosmopolitan pursuits like cartographic and atlas productions. In early modernity, before such nationalisms can truly be tracked, prints quietly slipped across boundaries. An examination of prints made in this period necessarily veers the discourse away from a focus on artistic origins and towards their reception, especially in the heterogeneous and patchwork localities of early modernity. Prints permeated and vexed traditionally defined borders. The artificial divides erected by discipline specific scholarship, in which art history's past is complicit, are ones that print never respected. The print is a fitting poster child for the global Renaissance.

Cosmopolitan Market

Nationalist histories of the Renaissance omitting the influence of prints neglect the fact that many early modern prints and printed books were intended for an international marketplace. Recent scholarship on trade and markets established by merchants have focused on the cosmopolitan centers of Antwerp, Frankfurt, and Venice, with some attention to them as important printing

5 Benedict R. O'Gorman Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York, 1991).

6 Marília Santos Lopes and Peter Hanenberg, "Entdeckung und Selbstentdeckung: Kurze Anmerkungen zur Literarischen Darstellung Europas in der Frühen Neuzeit," in *Artium Conjunctio: Kulturwissenschaft Und Frühneuzeitforschung: Aufsätze für Dieter Wuttke*, ed. Petra Schöner and Gert Hübner (Baden-Baden, 2013), 35–45.

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centers in early modernity.[7] The printing trade in entrepôts like Venice and Antwerp was a multi-national venture from its inception. Foreign printers were active in Venice early on, such as the Frenchman Nicolas Jenson, and Germans, such as a set of brothers from Speyer and Erhard Ratdolt from Augsburg.[8] Communities of foreign nationals also formed specialized markets for printers in Venice. The Greek scholarly and merchant community was also sizeable and perhaps can answer in part for the demand that Aldus Manutius saw for printed editions of the works of Greek classics.[9] Evidence of multicultural productions is embedded in the famous plan of Venice known as the Barbari map, designed by the Italian painter and printmaker Jacopo de Barbari and published by the German printer Anton Kolb c. 1500, in all likelihood for a German merchant. German printers were very active abroad, founding the majority of presses in Paris.[10]

The robust presence of emigrés in Antwerp made it a ready market for texts in French, English, Spanish, Italian, Dutch, and German vernaculars, and an international market for books in Latin. Early modern printers in cosmopolitan centers envisioned readership markets that earlier generations of image-makers never imaged reaching. Stephanie Porrass argues for such indications of cultural translation occurring in Antwerp at the nexus of seaborne trade routes serving the Baltic, Genoa, Seville, Lisbon, Asia, and Habsburg centers in the Americas. Many printed productions were thus skewed for an international market, and many Antwerp books and prints were designed for export.[11] The extent of this hopeful lobbying was advertised by publishers boasting about

7 Andrew Pettegree and Malcolm Walsby, *Netherlandish Books : Books Published in the Low Countries and Dutch Books Printed Abroad before 1601* (Leiden, 2011); and Jan Van der Stock, *Printing Images in Antwerp: The Introduction of Printmaking in a City, Fifteenth Century to 1585*, ed. Beverley Jackson (Rotterdam, 1998).

8 See Horatio Robert Forbes Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press 1469–1800: An Historical Study Based upon Documents for the Most Part Hitherto Unpublished* (Amsterdam, 1969). See also contributions in Eric R. Dursteler, ed., *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400–1797* (Leiden, 2013).

9 Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press*, 42; Brian Richardson, *Print Culture in Renaissance Italy: The Editor and the Vernacular Text, 1470–1600* (Cambridge, 1994); and Brian Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge, 1999). On Venice and the printing traffic that arose in urban centers without a university, see also Malcolm Walsby and Graeme Kemp, *The Book Triumphant: Print in Transition in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden and Boston, 2011), 28.

10 Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing, 1450–1800*, ed. David Gerard (London, 1979), 147.

11 Ibid., 187.

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the many vernaculars represented in their book lists. The colophon enticing the multi-lingual reader to de Bonte's print shop at the base of the Antwerp *Cosmographie*'s title page shows the international audience to which he aspired: "Gregorius de Bonte vercooptse Tantwerpen in den Schilt van Basele op de camerpoortbrugge/ in Latein/ Spaensch/ Duytsch/en Walsch" (fig. 7.1). And indeed, Apian's cosmography was printed in five different languages before the seventeenth century.[12] It is also no accident that Apian's text, originally printed in Latin in Ingolstadt in Germany in 1524, proliferated in these vernaculars only after its first Antwerp printing.

Savvy printers selected content with broad appeal for international readership. Scholars situate Antwerp on par with Venice and Paris in facilitating distribution.[13] Capitalist consumption determined themes, subjects, and language—some of this was a reflection on the printers' bottom line. Their successes rested on the degree to which they could satisfy the community of international readers in Antwerp; publishers no doubt picked titles for publication that could be marketed to a wider readership. This same strategy was adopted by artists producing independent prints who were also not bound by commissions but by the open market.

In trade entrepôts, the paths of distribution were well established for a lively print trade. The presence of mercantile middlemen in Antwerp already carrying goods elsewhere facilitated the distribution of printed books, and made this city an important node for both the sale and the production of printed matter at least until the 1580s.[14] This infrastructure for distribution also contributed to the rise of independent prints, along with the unique patronage structures offered by cities with a strong mercantile and bourgeois presence.[15] Like book publishers vying for international readership, many print publishers also saw potential in a global marketplace: for instance, the prints designed by Marten de Vos carried polyglot inscriptions that catered to the transnational

12 For a survey of the editions and the many languages in which Apian's *Cosmographia* was published, see: https://www.mhs.ox.ac.uk/students/98to99/.

13 Jan van der Stock, *Antwerp, Story of a Metropolis: 16th–17th Century: Antwerp, Hessenhuis 25 June–10 October 1993* (Gent, 1993).

14 Van der Stock, *Printing Images in Antwerp*. See also Van der Stock, *Antwerp*, esp. 49–57.

15 Karen Lee Bowen and Dirk Imhof, *Christopher Plantin and Engraved Book Illustrations in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, 2008), 35–6. Book printers like Plantin also sought to supply independent prints to their audiences—so printers/publishers also functioned as middlemen for artists like Marten de Vos and thus contributed to the rise of independent prints.

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Cosmographie,
oft Beschrijuinghe der geheelder Werelt van Petrus Apianus. derdWerf nu ghecorrigeert van Gemma Frisio Mathematicien ende Doctoor in Medicinen. Metten Zeecompasse ende anderen boecxkens byden seluē Gemma daer toegedaen.
Insorvio Musis Ebiae Rantard
Anno M DC XXXIIIII.
EUROPA
ASIA
MOBILIS MERIDIANVS
AFRICA
HORIZON
EX BIBLIOTHECA ACADEMIAE IVLIAE CAROLINAE
M.D.LIII.
Gregorius de Bonte vercooptse Tantwerpen in den schilt van Basele/ op de cāmerpoortbrugge/ in Latijn/Spaensch/Duytsch/en Walsch.

FIGURE 7.1 *Peter Apian and Gemma Frisius,* Cosmographie, oft Beschrijuinghe der geheelder werelt (*Antwerp, 1553*).
HERZOG AUGUST BIBLIOTHEK, WOLFENBÜTTEL, 11.4 ASTRON

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communities that thrived in Antwerp, and others were destined for New Spain.[16] Cosmopolitan sites like Antwerp produced printed books in vernacular translations and prints with polyglot inscriptions.[17] The rise of a market for independent art in Antwerp has been examined by art historians such as Larry Silver, Timothy Riggs and Zirka Zaremba Filipczak.[18] Independent prints acknowledged the vernacular demographics to which a successful printer aspired in the Spanish Catholic Netherlands once Burgundy came under Habsburg control: editions of a commemorative funeral procession for Charles V designed by Hieronymous Cock and printed by Christopher Plantin in 1559 were accompanied by captions printed in Dutch, French, German, Italian and Spanish.[19] Thus, prints in the age of exchange also overturned many established agent and patron-centered structures—in early modernity, the market exerted a strong influence on what was printed.

Open Markets

Material produced for an open market frequently sold at sites of annual fairs, such as those in Antwerp, Frankfurt, and Leipzig.[20] In early modern Europe, prints and books were brought to these central locations and were distributed by agents who took them back to local centers and independent sellers. The fact that market centers arose independently in places where presses were slow to appear is a testament to how the print industry laid the foundation for the infrastructure of globalism. In Frankfurt, for instance, seasonal book fairs drew hundreds of booksellers to distribute their wares; this focus effectively slowed the development of independent presses there, at least until the beginning of the sixteenth century.[21] Hans-Jörg Künast's work on the early book trade in the German-speaking territories has provided invaluable statistics for printers in these places and suggested some causes for the development of the printing

16 Christine Göttler, B. A. M. Ramakers, and Joanna Woodall, *Trading Values in Early Modern Antwerp* (Antwerp, 2014).

17 Ibid. See also Hubert Meeus, "Printing Vernacular Translations in 16th-Century Antwerp," *Netherlandish Yearbook for History of Art* 64 (2014): 108–37.

18 Timothy A. Riggs et al., *Graven Images: The Rise of Professional Printmakers in Antwerp and Haarlem, 1540–1640* (Evanston, 1993); Larry Silver, *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes: The Rise of Pictorial Genres in the Antwerp Art Market* (Philadelphia, 2006); and Zirka Zaremba Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp, 1550–1700* (Princeton, 1987).

19 Bowen and Imhof, *Christopher Plantin*, 64.

20 Febvre and Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, 228–32.

21 Ibid., 229.

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press in specific urban centers.[22] Centers of print distribution were generally characterized by global and tolerant thinking that defied the often restrictive nature of towns in which confessional loyalties shaped printers' lists. The need for confessional rhetoric and propaganda put some towns on the map print-wise. Such was the case of Wittenberg, where printing only took off with the needs of Martin Luther and the supply provided by Lucas Cranach; the printing onslaught that occurred there happened despite its relatively inauspicious location with respect to trade routes. Some genres flourished in certain centers. Important technical and how-to literature, for example, emerged in Strasbourg precisely because the university's appearance there was relatively late.[23] The cosmopolitan profile of Frankfurt's book fair eventually made it an auspicious site for the establishment of print shops by the early sixteenth century. Frankfurt opened its doors to printers like Sebald Beham, whose disputes with the Nuremberg town council prompted his move to Frankfurt in 1531; new work by Alison Stewart, Miriam Kirch, and Birgit Münch will analyze Frankfurt as a market for prints, as well as books.[24] Frankfurt's strategic location for distributors also spurred the demand for independent prints. The Antwerp printer/publisher Christopher Plantin, who relied on the distribution outlet of the book fair for his printing house, also sent prints to Frankfurt as a dealer of independent prints.[25] Karen Bowen and Dirk Imhoff's current project will analyze Frankfurt as a distribution site both for the printed output of Christopher Plantin's Antwerp press, as well as for independent prints.

Frankfurt also became a default destination for printers catering to diverse confessional publics and sensitive material until the early seventeenth century.[26] Escape from religious prosecution in his native Louvain was the

22 Malcolm Walsby and Graeme Kemp, *The Book Triumphant: Print in Transition in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden and Boston, 2011); and Hans-Jörg Künast, *"Getruckt zu Augspurg": Buchdruck und Buchhandel in Augsburg Zwischen 1468 und 1555*, Studia Augustana (Tübingen, 1997).

23 Sachiko Kusukawa, *Picturing the Book of Nature: Image, Text, and Argument in Sixteenth-Century Human Anatomy and Medical Botany* (Chicago, 2011), 9; and Miriam Usher Chrisman, *Lay Culture, Learned Culture: Books and Social Change in Strasbourg, 1480–1599* (New Haven, 1982).

24 Birgit Ulrike Münch et al., *Die Klage des Künstlers Krise und Umbruch von der Reformation bis um 1800* (Petersberg, 2015). See Alison Stewart's contribution here on Sebald Beham's move to Frankfurt. See also Alison G. Stewart, Miriam H. Kirch and Birgit U. Münch, *Frankfurt and the Art Market (1500–1800)*, forthcoming.

25 Bowen and Imhof, *Christopher Plantin*, 47, 66, no. 33.

26 Febvre and Martin, *The Coming of the Book,* 232.

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reason for Huguenot printer Theodor de Bry's move there in 1590.[27] The de Bry family's printing concern found a sympathetic audience in Frankfurt for projects that were confessionally polemical, as well as ones with international content. One of his firm's best known work, a series of travel accounts known today as the *Grand Voyages* printed between 1590 and 1628, treated geographic material globally in terms of hemispheres: *India Orientalis* and *America* or *India Occidentalis*.[28] De Bry's work furnished images of Native Americans as homogenous colonial subjects buffeted about by the campaigns of Western European expansion into the Americas.[29] With lavish engravings of indigenous populations, de Bry dressed up the itineraries of Thomas Harriot, Jacques le Moyne de Morgues, Girolamo Benzoni, Columbus, Vespucci and Magellan and presented them serially. The *Grand Voyages* was the first truly popular anthology of travel accounts, and perhaps the first to situate global travel at the center of a serial print production. De Bry aimed to capitalize on a repeat and international audience, which awaited him in market-driven Frankfurt. De Bry's shrewd strategy for recouping his investment in this way demonstrates how he was able to make bestsellers out of already circulating travelogues by simply repackaging them with profuse and striking images.[30] Similar anthologizing volumes printed in Frankfurt, such as Boissard's *Vitae et icons Sultanorum turcicorum* (1596) and *Habitus variorum orbis gentium* (1581), also treated global content such as a collection of Ottoman emperors and costumes of the world. Frankfurt's dominance in the western European print trade was later eclipsed by Leipzig at the end of the Thirty Years' War.[31]

International Reputations

The international celebrity of early modern personalities like Erasmus, Vesalius, and Luther were forged by local printmakers with their eyes on the cosmopolitan market. Basel's place in printing history solidified around its commitment to international readership. Here even artists active in other

27 Michiel van Groesen, *The Representations of the Overseas World in the De Bry Collection of Voyages (1590–1634)* (Leiden, 2008); and Anna Greve, *Die Konstruktion Amerikas: Bilderpolitik in den Grands Voyages aus der Werkstatt de Bry* (Cologne, 2004).

28 Groesen, *The Representations of the Overseas World*, 389–491.

29 Walter Mignolo, "Crossing Gazes and the Silence of the 'Indians': Theodor de Bry and Guaman Poma de Ayala," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 41, no. 1 (2011): 200.

30 Groesen, *The Representations of the Overseas World,* 48.

31 Febvre and Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, 233.

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media like panel painting, such as Hans Holbein, were commandeered to serve the demands of writers whose identities ballooned as a result of new publicity campaigns engendered by the printing press. Together with his Basel printer Johannes Froben, portraitists Hans Holbein and Albrecht Dürer helped devise Erasmus's reputation in print. Erasmus, opportunistically peripatetic and taking himself wherever commissions or benefices would supply a fresh bed, ushered in the age of the bestseller, a phenomenon practically contingent on global reception.[32] Printed portraits by Holbein and Dürer accompanied these campaigns and solidified Erasmus' popularity. Print celebrity depended on the wide reach of the tentacles of the press.

The Basel printing scene catapulted Erasmus to international renown, a self-fashioning whose debt he forthrightly acknowledged he owed to the work of the press.[33] The Republic of Letters now stretched to the berth that Erasmus had given it and Erasmus became a global citizen. Flouting traditional types of patronage arrangements, Erasmus capitalized on the print medium—he staged his dedications on title pages, from which he drew benefices, and in turn, this gave agency to his publisher Froben and his frequent editor Beatus Rhenanus.[34] In addition to the broad circulation of his writings, Erasmus also owed his reputation to the shrewd deployment of authorial portraits of him in the guise of scholar in the study; these touted his polyglot abilities and used the aura of the printed word to shore up his identity as a commentator on longer text-based traditions that also had the tenacity, if perhaps not the reach of their printed descendants.

Artists working in print were the handmaidens to authors' identity formation—many of these personalities were made in print media. Artists once active in primarily one medium now diversified their portfolios by promisingly turning their attention to print; Holbein, Dürer, and Lucas Cranach the Elder and Younger all saw their reputation and fortunes rise as a result of the black art. If Basel could not contain Erasmus, then neither could Wittenberg contain Luther. The creation of Luther's persona in print has put the spotlight on the agency of the Cranach workshop in branding Luther, himself currently

32 Valentina Sebastiani, "Sixteenth-Century Polymaths in the Print and Publishing Business in Basel: An Intersection of Interest and Strategies (1472–1513)," *Renaissance and Reformation* 39, no. 2 (2016): 9–25.

33 Andrée Hayum, "Dürer's Portrait of Erasmus and the Ars Typographorum," *The Renaissance Quarterly* 38 (1985): 650–87.

34 Lisa Jardine, *Erasmus, Man of Letters: The Construction of Charisma in Print* (Princeton, 1993), esp. 147–89.

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earning scholarly attention as the original media man.[35] The "reformation" of the image has tagged the projects of Lucas Cranach the Elder and Younger in the service of printed propaganda, texts and portraiture.[36] The Cranach workshop shaped the role of the printer into an important agent now in charge of both artistic decisions and confessional iconography. Even while Cranach was surely still taking cues both from the Saxon court and reformers themselves, traditional patterns of patronage were changing, as was the idea of artistic invention.[37] The Cranach productions eventually became more than the sum of their parts, and indeed greater than the sum of the hands involved. The output of "Team Cranach," a collaboration that one of the curators of Gotha's recent *Bild und Botschaft* exhibition used to refer to the strength of the workshop, signals a new collective identity that replaced the hand of the individual artist as the need for propaganda forced production outside the capability of the individual.[38] Labor patterns in Cranach's workshop morphed as a result of the demand for repeatable images for broadsheets, title page designs, polemical pamphlets, and didactic series, which surely impacted the production and destiny of polemic in other media as well. The similarity of printed motifs that emerged from their press and the simultaneity of their appearance ensured the recognizability of their subjects in paintings as well, and the promotion of unmistakable identities that these confessional propaganda wars encouraged soundly trumped the originality of invention. For example, recycled motifs in Cranach's paintings placed a higher premium on familiarity than they did on originality. The many versions of *The Law and the Gospels*, and the similarity of *femmes fatales* in the shape of the Cranachs' many Venuses, Nymphs, Judiths and Salomes almost guarantee that we sometimes misidentify them.[39] Portraits of Luther and Melanchthon suggest that Cranach's attention to market demands via printmaking directly translated to his painting factory as well. Both his products and work habits certainly changed as a result of the repetition that printing encouraged.

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35 Andrew Pettegree, *Brand Luther: 1517, Printing, and the Making of the Reformation* (New York, 2015).

36 Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (Chicago, 2004).

37 Justus Lange, Benjamin D. Spira, and Timo Trümpner, *Bild und Botschaft: Cranach im Dienst von Hof und Reformation* (Halle, 2015), 43.

38 Lange, Spira, and Trümpner, *Bild und Botschaft*. This was one of the many exhibitions celebrating Cranach's work in the lead up to the 500th anniversary of the Reformation in 2017.

39 Ibid., 270.

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The cosmopolitanism ushered in via print made reputations on an international scale (for both the artist and subject), giving rise to both new workshop sensibilities and purchasing patterns. The German born printmaker Hendrick Goltzius, while he spent most of his adult life working in Haarlem, diligently groomed his prints for an international market which he was quick to serve. His biographer Karel van Mander records Goltzius rushing to complete prints to sell at the Frankfurt fair.[40] Walter Melion has argued that Goltzius prepared this material in imitation of master printmakers like Albrecht Dürer and Lucas van Leyden, aiming to improve his talents as a conduit, and abdicating his own autonomy in favor of his models.[41] Artists working for the open market were independent contractors hastening towards deadlines and hustling for audiences. Thus, prints in the age of exchange help show us that the global market frequently had implications for artists' subjects and even their work habits.

Global Content and Cosmopolitan Subjects

With many printing centers fixed at the crossroads of trade, both naval and inland, certain sites in Northern Europe lent themselves to the convergence of navigational knowledge and also printing output that developed to serve those industries. In Antwerp, we see a flurry of printing output that was geographic in nature, with genres like world maps and atlases developing in tandem with the information that came back from traders and travelers. Attempts to anthologize this knowledge were the efforts of printers like Martin Waldseemüller in Saint-Dié, Gerard Mercator in Duisburg, Theodor de Bry in Frankfurt, Abraham Ortelius and Christopher Plantin in Antwerp, and Peter Apian in Ingolstadt.

Recent scholarship on the generative activities of merchants and epistemologies that followed in their sea-lanes also capitalizes on the cosmopolitan nature of the Renaissance.[42] Wealthy merchants, such as the Welser and Fugger families from the southern German town of Augsburg, maintained trading houses in a host of cities including Rome, Venice, Budapest, Cracow, Nuremberg, Antwerp, and Lisbon, through which they managed their trade

40 Carel van Mander and Hessel Miedema, *The lives of the illustrious Netherlandish and German painters, from the first edition of the Schilder-boeck (1603–1604)* (Doornspijk, 1994), fol. 284v.

41 Walter S. Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon: Karel van Mander's Schilder-Boeck* (Chicago, 1991), 44.

42 Pamela H. Smith and Paula Findlen, *Merchants & Marvels: Commerce, Science and Art in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 2002).

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in credit, ore, jewels, ceramics, dry goods and textiles. A view of the Fugger headquarters features their accountant Matthäus Schwarz before a file cabinet organizing the activity of the firm's branch offices and trying to make a good impression in front of his expectant boss (fig. 7.2).[43] This image originates in a costume book or *Trachtenbuch* produced over a number of years in Augsburg, a manuscript primarily devoted to Schwarz's clothing and certainly one of the earliest sustained records of selfies. This visual collection of Schwarz's wardrobe records his pride in being able to outfit himself in the lavish fabrics obtained from contacts in the Fugger's international trade network.[44] It is no accident that many of the critical trading nodes marked on the cabinet's drawers were also established printing centers.

Those involved in mercantile trade were an obvious audience for the systematization of geographic knowledge. Merchants frequently maintained multiple domiciles and knowing how to navigate between them on the map and on the ground made geographic knowledge a necessity. Printed maps and cosmographies obliged the demand for such cosmopolitan content. Maps were printed for an audience increasingly aware of their own place in a global market, and designed to make the world seem manageable, if not just a bit smaller. Cosmographies cued geographic coordinates to astronomical knowledge, and organized themselves into regions of the world. It is this geographic emphasis of the cosmography to which Apian's exhortation of the benefits of armchair travel refers. Another cosmographic text produced by Apian, the *Cosmographia Introductio* (Ingolstadt, 1529),[45] whose content derived in part from an earlier title by Martin Waldseemüller, the Alsatian cartographer best known for christening a terrestrial outcropping in the Atlantic with the name America, was part astronomical manual and part description of continents—an organizational pattern that most subsequent cosmographies followed.[46] The heavens themselves were oriented to geographic content. Comprehensive projects to map the world also arose in this ambient, such as Mercator's *Atlas Sive Cosmographi Meditationes de Fabrica Mundi et Fabricati Figura* (Atlas, or

43 Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum: Hs 27 N. 67a, fol. 28v. See Matthäus Schwarz et al., *The First Book of Fashion: The Book of Clothes of Matthäus & Veit Konrad Schwarz of Augsburg* (London, 2015), 82, 250.

44 Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford and New York, 2010).

45 Petrus Apian, *Cosmographiae Introductio: Cum Quibusdam Gaeo-Metriae Ac Astronomiae Principijs Ad Eam Rem Necessarijs* (Ingolstadt, 1529).

46 Christine R. Johnson, *The German Discovery of the World: Renaissance Encounters with the Strange and Marvelous* (Charlottesville, 2008).

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FIGURE 7.2 *Matthäus Schwarz,* Trachtenbuch, *c. 1520–60.*
HERZOG ANTON ULRICH-MUSEUM, BRAUNSCHWEIG, HS. 27, N. 67A, FOL. 28V.

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Cosmographic Meditations on the Fabric of the World and the Figure of the Fabrick'd) (Duisburg, 1595; Amsterdam, 1628).

Cosmographic knowledge was likewise mapped onto peoples inhabiting those regions and these two subjects, territories and peoples, became mutually constitutive content. Many printed genres not expressly designed with cartographic content in mind were formally and epistemologically underwritten by mapping impulses. Many seemingly unrelated genres had cartographic properties, so pervasive was the idea of mapping in printed genres that humans suggested themselves as a ready parallel to geographic mapping.[47] These genres, in their scope and sometimes in their process thematized mapping. Bernard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* (Mainz, 1486), for example, posed ostensibly as a pilgrim account but its illustrations of sites and peoples supported reportorial and ethnographic claims about the regions through which the author traveled and peoples the pilgrims encountered. Its international audience can be gauged by vernacular editions that followed in German, Latin, French, and Spanish.[48] Just a few years later, Hartmann Schedel's *Weltchronik* organized similar content of cityscapes and peoples into striking visually driven graphic layouts. Nearby cities such as Augsburg produced its share of similar travel related publications with a focus on bodies and geography, especially a stunning multi-block woodcut that chronicled the circumnavigation of Africa by south German merchants en route to India with the mission that set up the first Portuguese viceroyalty in Goa (fig. 7.3).[49] The text was supplied by Balthasar Springer, a merchant-sailor in the employ of the Augsburg Welser family underwriting the Portuguese mission of Francisco d'Almeida, and illustrations by Hans Burgkmair, a printmaker with limited first-hand experience with travel. Local merchants and artists imagined themselves as part of and within a global paradigm and often found that the best way to express the novelties of cultures and topographies found was through the peoples encountered.

Antwerp's expertise on global topics (cartography and cosmography) profited from the very movement of printers in and out of that city and attracted a high concentration of artists and engravers. As a critical trade nexus, it served both as a point of departure for overseas traders in need of sea charts, which its printers supplied, while also capitalizing on the returning reports of travellers

47 Tom Conley, *The Self-Made Map: Cartographic Writing in Early Modern France* (Minneapolis, 1996).

48 Elizabeth Ross, *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book: Breydenbach's Peregrinatio from Venice to Jerusalem* (University Park, PA, 2014).

49 Stephanie Leitch, "Burgkmair's 'Peoples of Africa and India' (1508) and the Origins of Ethnography in Print," *The Art Bulletin*, 91:2 (2009): 134–59.

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FIGURE 7.3 *Hans Burgkmair,* Peoples of Africa and India*, 1508, woodcut, 28.5 × 230.6 cm.* FREIHERRLICH VON WELSERSCHEN FAMILIENSTIFTUNG, LAUF NEUNHOF

which its publishers brought to market and were given shape in the works of Abraham Ortelius and the atlases of Gerard Mercator. Antwerp's print industry supplied local and international markets with exotic tales from newly discovered lands. Antwerp presses also released other significant travel publications that took the bodies of travelers encountered as their point of departure.

In the interpenetration of genres such as navigational and travel literature, world maps, atlases, and costume books, we see geographic knowledge increasingly packaged in the bodies the travellers encountered. The shallow visual fields of costume books were reminiscent of those found behind bodies in map margins. Geographic data was repackaged in formal structures that evolved from the cross-pollination of map margins with costume books. The combination of distinctively costumed bodies placed against local topographies created new hybrid genres, such as Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg's *Civitates orbis terrarum* (1572), an atlas of the world's cities that included both topographic views and records of costumes and customs of peoples, sometimes derived from earlier sources.[50]

In the view of Mexico City, for instance, we see traces from earlier print sources, including the ground plan of the city center from a map accompanying the second letter of Hernán Cortés to Charles V printed in 1524 in Nuremberg (fig. 7.4).[51] In the adjacent view of Cuzco, we see a procession of a

50 Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (Cologne and Antwerp, 1572).

51 A copy of the map can be accessed at the John Carter Brown Library site: http://jcb.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/s/ng77l5. Barbara E. Mundy, "Mapping the Aztec Capital: The 1524 Nuremberg Map of Tenochtitlan, Its Sources and Meanings," *Imago Mundi*

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FIGURE 7.4 *Braun and Hogenberg,* Civitates orbis Terrarum (*Cologne, 1572*).
HERZOG AUGUST BIBLIOTHEK, WOLFENBÜTTEL, T 29.2, HELMST

figure, likely Atahualpa, whose litter probably originated in Burgkmair's woodcut frieze of the peoples of Africa and India.[52] Some of the foreground figures of the *Civitates* were derived from costume books; some of the city views in the *Civitates* would have afterlives in other travel related productions, such as the plan for Cusco that appears again in de Bry's version of Benzoni's account, *Americae pars sexta* (Frankfurt, 1596).

The spectacular array of human diversity found in travel-related publications has been the subject of interdisciplinary inquiry, especially insofar as diversity began to enliven cartographic practice and became a critical spur to the commercial boom in the map trade. Valerie Traub argues that the migration of bodies from the interior of maps to the margins sanctioned this space as a grid wherein identities were codified and formalized.[53] Gender, nationality, and a host of other social identities were forged in this liminal area. Visual snapshots of national types formed important global content that eventually

Imago Mundi 50, no. 1 (1998): 11–33; and Diantha Steinhilper, "An Emperor's Heraldry, a Pope's Portrait, and the Cortés Map of Tenochtitlan: The Praeclara Ferdinadi Cortesii as an Evangelical Announcement," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 47, no. 2 (2016): 371–99.

52 See Tom Cummins, "The Indulgent Image: Prints in the New World," in *Contested Visions in the Spanish Colonial World*, ed. Ilona Katzew et al. (Los Angeles and New Haven, 2011), 217.

53 Valerie Traub, "Mapping the Global Body," in *Early Modern Visual Culture*, ed. Peter Erickson and Clark Hulse (University Park, PA, 2000), 46.

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shaped the look and the market for maps with decorative borders. This cosmopolitan content effectively shifted the market for these items—no longer just the tools of navigators, maps became sources of organized visual information for peoples eager to consume news of the world and its inhabitants. Bronwen Wilson, Surekha Davies, Ann Rosalind Jones and others have all produced recent scholarship on maps, peoples, and costume books.[54]

People appearing on sixteenth and seventeenth-century maps reflected the systematization that the global body underwent as a result of a critical mass of innovations descending on print centers such as Antwerp: technical innovations, artistic conventions and ideological pressures.[55] These produced new formats for data collection still underwritten by cosmography, but in these new genres, cartography took a back seat to other concerns. The work of Abraham de Bruyn (c. 1540–87) provides an example of content that was built on the local output of geographic literature, but de Bruyn shifted his emphasis to collecting data about people. The engraver's presence at varying points of his career in Antwerp, Breda, and Cologne not only reflected the semi-itinerant nature of the printing trade at that time, but also suggests that such movement was even critical for acquiring the necessary source material for certain "international" projects.[56] De Bruyn's catalogue of world costumes was first published in Cologne as *Omnium poene gentium imagines, ubi oris totiusque corporis et vestium habitus … exprimuntur* (1577).[57] Between 1577 and 1872, this book was published in four languages and in fifteen editions and spawned some closely related publications. These albums of peoples consisted of engraved plates generally showing four figures disposed in related social or regional groupings. Of interest to the study of actors in the global Renaissance agents is the detailing of professions and trades: such as sailors, merchants, court officials, and peasants with captions, sometimes with further descriptive

54 Bronwen Wilson, *The World in Venice Print, the City and Early Modern Identity* (Toronto, 2005); Surekha Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human New Worlds, Maps and Monsters* (Cambridge, 2016); Margaret F. Rosenthal and Ann Rosalind Jones, *The Clothing of the Renaissance World: Europe, Asia, Africa, the Americas: Cesare Vecellio's Habiti Antichi et Moderni* (London and New York, 2008); and Stephanie Leitch, *Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany: New Worlds in Print Culture* (Basingstoke, UK, 2010).

55 Traub, "Mapping the Global Body," 49.

56 For printers in Antwerp, especially those in service of Christopher Plantin, see Bowen and Imhof, *Christopher Plantin*, 329.

57 Abraham Bruyn, *Omnium Poene Gentium Imagines, Ubi Oris Totiusque Corporis et Vestium Habitus, in Ordinis Cuinscunque Ac Loci Hominibus Diligentissime Exprimuntur*, ed. Hadrian Damman (Cologne, 1577).

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commentary of these peoples as "types" such as opulent, noble, common, or rustic. Other images showed individuals of regions and rank, such as a handful of Turkish nobility, including the emperor Suleiman, shown in the particularity of the region's dress (fig. 7.5). Dress was presented in terms of distinctive silhouettes and important local commodities, such as silk.

Later versions of de Bruyn's text reflect growing demand on the part of readers to navigate diverse communities established by global trade. In its 1581 iteration, *Omnium pene Europae, Asiae, Aphricae atque Americae gentium habitus* (Antwerp: Michiel Colyn, 1581), the lengthy preface introducing the first edition was sacrificed in favor of increased international coverage expanding to the Americas.[58] Polyglot inscriptions in Latin, French and German added to the costume pages become critical paratext that promoted user-friendliness. This publication also incorporated figures from other anthologies of peoples

Solimannus Turcorum Imp.
Ismael Parsar. M. Dux.
Cadilesquer omnium causarum amplissimus index apud Turc.
Aga Bassa Ianizerorum primus ac summus dux.
75.

FIGURE 7.5 *De Bruyn,* Omnium poene gentium imagines (*Cologne, 1577*). HERZOG AUGUST BIBLIOTHEK, WOLFENBÜTTEL, T 212.2, HELMST

58 The earlier edition consisted of fifty folios with 206 engraved figures captioned in Latin. The Latin text was dropped for the Antwerp edition and the international coverage was expanded in de Bruyn's *Omnium pene Europae, Asiae, Aphricae atque Americae gentium habitus* (Antwerp, 1581). The later edition consists of sixty-one oblong folio plates with 398 costumes, see Wilson, *The World in Venice*, 294, no. 13.

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such as de Bruyn's 1578 *Imperii ac sacerdotii ornatus* (Cologne; Antwerp, 1581). Many of de Bruyn's figures serve as sources for Jean Jacques Boissard's engravings for the *Habitus variarum orbis gentium* (Cologne: Rutus, 1581), showing the demand for similar volumes to be high.[59] These books reprise a tradition of organizing the world's peoples that had been playing itself out in the margins of maps for some time, but pride of place is now given to the costumed body.[60]

De Bruyn's geographic treatment of the world via the contours of the bodies of their inhabitants also followed a tradition of costume books which saw its heyday in the mid-sixteenth century, principally in Venice where between 1540 and 1610, nine different titles were published, a figure estimated at about a third of the costume books produced throughout Europe.[61] If costume books divided the world into manageable portions that roughly align with geographic contours, they were called upon to do so precisely because peoples themselves were colliding in the early modern entrepôts like Antwerp and Venice. Traditions of costume books were tenacious in cosmopolitan centers like these where borders permeable to trade determined peoples' interactions with each other. Albrecht Dürer's sketch of an extravagantly dressed Venetian lady next to her more sensibly attired Nuremberg counterpart pictured an ironic version of a sartorial encounter probably fairly familiar to Venetians.[62] For Venetians and for the multinationals in their midst, many of whom resided in various *fondachi* built to house international trade communities, difference was construed as a function of dress, a formal element that provided relative stability as an indicator of cultural identity at a time where geographic borders shifted frequently.[63]

If the costume books can be seen as guidebooks to navigating cultural difference on view in the lagoon, entrepreneurial printers extrapolated from this what the traveler, armchair or otherwise, might also see abroad. Cesare Vecellio's *The Clothing, Ancient and Modern, of Various Parts of the World* (Venice: Zenaro, 1590) offers a partial solution to what might have been an early modern crisis in people management: the book presents over 428 searchable

59 Jean Jacques Boissard, *Habitus Variarum Orbis Gentium. Habitz de Nations Estranges. Trachten Mancherley Völcker Des Erdkreyß* (Cologne, 1581).

60 Gerhard Mercator, *Atlas Sive Cosmographicae Meditationes de Fabrica Mundi et Fabricati Figura* (Amsterdam, 1628). See for example, the variety of professions featured in the margins of the map of Denmark, ibid., 156r.

61 Wilson, *The World in Venice*, 70, no. 3.

62 Albrecht Dürer, *Nuremberg and Venetian Women,* pen and ink on paper, 245 × 159 mm, 1495–7. Inv. no. 696, Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main. http://www.staedelmuseum.de/en/collection/lady-venetian-dress-contrasted-nuremberg-hausfrau-ca-1495.

63 Wilson, *The World in Venice*, 72.

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costumes. The 1590 edition includes costumes in the book's first half: ancient and modern Romans, Venetians, Italians, then European, England, Turkey and Greece. The second half is devoted to the clothing and customs of Africans and Asians, and opens with a lengthy "Discourse on Ancient and Modern Clothing: their Origin, Transformation, and Variety." This popular work went into its second printing less than a decade later under the title of *The Clothing, Ancient and Modern, of the Whole World* (1598) with the addition of the Americas to the section on customs of Asia and Africa.[64] As curiosity about customs grew, Vecellio departs from his own formula of a "universalizing" depiction of person and dress, as we see in his occasional foray into elaborating on curious habits, such as his depiction of a "Turk, when it is raining," showing a turbaned man on horseback wearing a hat that resembles a collapsed umbrella.[65] For picturing native Americans, Vecellio cribbed figures from popular circulating travel anthologies, such as Theodor de Bry's *Grand Voyages*, a typical instance of the cross-pollination of costume books and travel accounts in the cosmopolitan Renaissance.[66]

Fluidity of motifs among printed travel accounts, maps and costume books guaranteed a continuity of imagery in the global literature of exchange. Citation of motifs from earlier and related publications and the symbiosis of the genres to which it gave rise developed a common vocabulary for the viewer that assisted the globalization of cultures. These works inscribed within them the phenomenology of the cross-cultural encounter, which was the alpha and omega of exchange.

Market Values: The Copy in the Age of Exchange

Multilingual inscriptions and popular themes appealing to diverse groups readied prints for international exchange. Publishers encouraged visual practices that would supplement recognizability, such as copying. The copy circulated with impunity in early modern printmaking. While pirating images was discredited by some printers hoping to protect their investments, citation as a popular *modus operandi* contributed to the development of bodies of knowledge arising from the collective communities created by prints. A discussion of

64 Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti Antichi, et Moderni Di Tutto Il Mondo: Di Nuovo Accresciuti Di Molte Figure. Vestitus Antiquorum, Recentiorumque Totius Orbis* (Venice, 1598).

65 See Jean Jacques Boissard's figure of Turks in the rain, in *Habitus variarum orbis gentium* (Cologne, 1581), plate 45.

66 Rosenthal and Jones, *The Clothing of the Renaissance World*, 35–41.

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exchange of goods and ideas in these centers can be enriched by consideration of how the idea of exchange was treated *within* the print itself.

In most cases, printers did not try to hide their pirating of others' images, but tried to capitalize on it. Antwerp printer Christopher Plantin's preface for his "version" of Vesalius, Juan de Valverde's *Vivae imagines partium corporis humani* (Antwerp, 1566), boasts to Antwerp magistrates addressed in the dedication that the work's success had hinged on qualified engravers whose skill would bring the publication up to the level of the "Italians," referring to the Niccoló Beatrizet and Gasparo Becerra, who produced the engravings for the Roman edition on which Plantin's were based.[67] Plantin's engravers, Frans and Pieter de Huys, were themselves employed in the print shop of Hieronymus Cock, whose own productions were responsible for familiarizing Northerners with the Italian style.[68] Their skill set was solicited on the strength of their cosmopolitan experience.

Copies transmitted style across borders. One of the ways Italianate style was known in northern Europe was through another imitative trope active in Italy. Marcantonio Raimondi had been hired to produce reproductive prints which diffused the look and style of artists active in different media.[69] Raimondi's success in spreading the content and the look of Raphael through prints prompted also his more overt rip-offs of Albrecht Dürer's prints, which infuriated Dürer, but probably also stimulated the demand for his designs in Italy and elsewhere. Similarly, Italianate style and subject matter were actively sought by Netherlandish artists through both actual travel and information transmitted by print, such as the printing enterprises of Cornelis Bos (who translated Maarten van Heemskerck's Roman sketches, the designs of Raphael and Michelangelo, as well as the strapwork of Italian craftsmen at work in Fontainebleau into print), and Hieronymus Cock's print shop *Aux Quatre Vents* published works by van Heemskerck and Floris via Cornelis Cort, who had also spent time in Italy transcribing the designs of Titian and other Italian masters.[70] Titian hosted Cort while in Venice and authorized him to replicate his designs. Cock's productions were targeted towards collectors searching specifically for Italian authenticity.[71] The pan-European wanderings of the Flemish printmakers, the Sadeler family, also assisted in the penetration of styles in places

67 Bowen and Imhof, *Christopher Plantin*, 67.

68 Ibid., 48.

69 Lisa Pon, *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi: Copying and the Italian Renaissance Print* (New Haven, 2004).

70 Riggs et al., *Graven Images*, 3–10.

71 Ibid., 17, no. 106.

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far from their origin, such as Cologne, Munich, Prague, Rome and Venice—Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann indicates the role that Flemish mannerists in Prague played in formalizing Netherlandish mannerism.[72]

Netherlandish print shops played a big hand in shaping the market for reproductive prints. Printing houses anticipated demand and produced imitations to be shipped everywhere. Collecting practices also had a symbiotic relationship to production: collectors were guided by the output of publishers like Cock and Lafreri in Rome.[73] No doubt serial prints were produced with new collecting practices in mind. Similarly, Goltzius diffused the look of Dürer, Lucas van Leyden, Spranger and Carraci. Ultimately, originating content or style was not his business' greatest priority; Goltzius' legacy resides in how he converted other stylistic hands into the semantics of engraving. In some sense, both Raimondi and Goltzius thrived on the taste driven by a cosmopolitan market. Goltzius actively sought out the approval of the market; passages in Van Mander that record Goltzius skulking about in disguise during his 1590–91 itinerary to Naples, refer surely, as Walter Melion puts it, to his self-effacing nature as it pertained to artistic originality.[74] But perhaps we can also see this as an attempt to get impartial responses to his prints. Goltzius was on the lookout for consumer feedback—testimony to the thrall the open market held over him. Prints promoted a fluid sense of authorship against which some artists tried to push, but at the end of the day, reproductive prints and pirated copies constituted a cottage industry that helped to diffuse style and content on a scale that ultimately contributed to their own successes. The repeatability and recyclability of early modern prints promoted collective knowledge. If we sidestep the privileging of invention in favor of a frank examination of the collaborative nature of print projects, we can expose the study of print to circulation and reception. Considering the extent to which its content, conventional look, and usefulness often took precedence over other concerns opens an investigation into the critical epistemological functions of the copy. Several recent studies have demonstrated the role of print in shaping knowledge-based disciplines, especially their role in fixing the parameters of epistemic genres such as

72 Ibid., 28; Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art* (Chicago, 2004), 175–78; and Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister, and City: The Art and Culture of Central Europe, 1450–1800* (Chicago, 1995), 201–203.

73 Peter W. Parshall, "The Print Collection of Ferdinand, Archduke of Tyrol," *Jahrbuch Der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* (1982): 178.

74 Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon*, 44; and Mander and Miedema, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, fol. 283r.

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anatomy and botany, the pursuit of knowledge across the disciplines, and the visualization of knowledge.[75]

Global Knowledge

Even as copies mediated collective knowledge across borders and helped establish early modern scientific networks, they are also interesting to studies of reception for the heterogeneous responses they often produced on the local level. Christopher Plantin's *Missale romanum* transmitted designs of Peter Paul Rubens to New Spain, for instance, and engravings made for Jerome Nadal's *Evangelicae historiae imagines* (1593) and *Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia* (1594) transmitted the designs of Jan Wiericx and Bernardo Passeri to the far flung corners of Jesuit Catholicism. Jean-Michel Massing shows how Jesuit knowledge transmitted via print was picked up and altered: each local ambient reflected distinct impacts in contexts as diverse as Paraguay, Poland, Russia, and China.[76] Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann's work also treats how artistic motifs travelled and were adopted and acculturated, and the problems associated with asserting classical styles vis à vis vernacular ones, tracking similar paths for Italian sculpture in Central Europe.[77]

Copies indicate that print had the capacity to shift shapes in each new context and belie any uniformity of reception. Prints targeting viewers on a more intimate level and the increasingly personal responses generated by this contact can be characterized by a new subjectivity on the part of the viewer, as Patricia Emison has shown.[78] Heterogeneous responses to antiquity, erotic subjects, and proverbs peddled by prints made them the agents of a growing subjectivity. Prints rarely produced regular responses, but celebrated the heterogeneity of their new cross-cultural contexts: they capitalized on the reach of new loci of exchange and adapted themselves to new audiences.[79]

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75 Susan Dackerman, *Prints and the Pursuit of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA, and New Haven, 2011); Kusukawa, *Picturing the Book of Nature*; and Ashley West, *Hans Burgkmair and the Visual Translation of Knowledge in the German Renaissance* (Brepols, forthcoming).

76 Jean Michel Massing, "Jerome Nadal's *Evangelicae historiae imagines* (1593) and his *Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia* (1594): their Influence from Paraguay to China," (forthcoming).

77 Farago, *Reframing the Renaissance*, 47; and Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister, and City*.

78 Patricia A. Emison, "Prolegomenon to the Study of Italian Renaissance Prints," *Word and Image* 11, no. 1 (1995): 1–15.

79 Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago, 1998).

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Viewing experiences prompted by prints in the age of exchange can be considered in the context of a "global eye," but one whose relativism needs to be treated seriously. Mia Mochizuki and Yoriko Kobayashi-Sato have shown how histories of art making practiced in nationalistic isolation have obscured geographically inflected viewing practices resulting from trade, explorations, and travel.[80] Nationalist histories can hardly accommodate the variety of exchanges that characterized early modern cosmopolitanism. Nor can isolationist histories of the Renaissance adequately describe the reception of artistic concepts grown elsewhere, such as the response of Japanese artists incorporating western perspective systems into their art. Early modern expressions of relativistic seeing already reified the productivity of cross-cultural exchange, as can be tracked in neologisms like *ran-ga*, or western painting, and *rangaku*, or Western (or Dutch) science in Edo Japan.[81] Timon Screech argues that Japanese visuality, opthamology, and response to optics was mediated by the look of "Dutch science" transmitted via print. The rubric of *ran-gaku* represented for Japanese audiences both style and content; this style became synonymous with science.

Japanese printmakers and artistic theorists actively explored the entailments of Western visual practice within the cultural collide of Dutch and Japanese contact. Japanese appropriation of linear perspective complicates the position it has been given in western painting and the net of rationality it supposedly cast over pictorial space. In the same way, subject matter transmitted globally through widely circulating editions of Nadal needs to be reassessed in each of its reproduced contexts. Locally produced copies of Nadal can highlight pathways for considering content and style and treat their reception in a variety of media. Similarly, the prints of Marten de Vos, as Stephanie Porras argues, are best interpreted at the interstices of multilingual and multiinterpretive readings which activate the subjectivity of the viewer who must choose among multiple and ambivalent interpretations.[82] Designs from de Vos found their way to a chapel in Saxony and all over Mexico, transmitting an international style that also breached borders of genre (paintings, fresco, and tapestries were generated from these prints) and also class barriers.

Cosmopolitanism can also tell us about the encounter itself, an event whose centering scholars advocate as a corrective to evolutionary and teleological models of artistic development. Several recent volumes have featured

80 Dana Leibsohn and Jeanette Favrot Peterson, *Seeing across Cultures in the Early Modern World* (Burlington, VT, 2012), 42.

81 Ibid., 38.

82 Göttler, Ramakers, and Woodall, *Values in Early Modern Antwerp*, 264.

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encounters and networks as productive ways to assess the penetration of cultural borders.[83] Cross-cultural ideas generated by prints make them important agents in this process. The increasing cosmopolitanism of a world in which peoples, products, and ideas collided became itself the subject for art.

Cross-cultural collisions frequently met in the production of science and technology. Printed matter sent knowledge into global orbit where facts were checked, accommodated, revised, and re-circulated. A depiction of a print shop in the *Nova Reperta*, a series of engravings of other inventions important to the early modern literate communities, emphasizes printing's importance in production of global knowledge. This project was conceived by a Flemish expat abroad in the Medici court, Jan van der Straet (1523–1605), known as Stradanus, and later printed by the Antwerp publishing house of Philips Galle c. 1590. A related publication, the *America Retectio*, took the discovery of the New World as the subject of ducal propaganda.[84] The *Nova Reperta* series took inventions and new developments as its core content, celebrating pan-European technological achievements that made things exactly reproducible (printing press), or easier to see (spectacles), or easier to navigate (the astrolabe and sextant), with the result that experiences and knowledge could be standardized.

Many of the *Nova Reperta*'s twenty designs were devoted to new technologies at the nexus of cross-cultural exchange. One of these "inventions" was the production of silk (fig. 7.6). Instead of portraying the original invention of the technology in pre-modern China, Stradanus highlights an important moment in silk's distribution as a result of a cross-cultural encounter and thus, its debut on the world stage: the importation of silk worms into Constantinople by two monks sent by emperor Justinian to smuggle both worms and knowledge about silk making out of China. This event, c. 551 C.E., marked a breach in the monopoly that the Far East had on this commodity, and after which silk production went viral. Stradanus packaged this event as knowledge derived from exchange.

The birth of silk as a global industry was rendered here as transcultural knowledge, but as a technology that could be brought home. This emphasis on the silk industry as global knowledge was a rather different tack than that taken by most other printmakers, who focused on silk as an exotic, lustrous commodity. For other printmakers taking note of Ottoman silk, it came in the shape of a visually distinct commodity, but crept in subtly. The under-dressing

83 Leibsohn and Peterson, *Seeing across Cultures in the Early Modern World*, 43; and Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann et al., *Circulations in the Global History of Art* (Burlington, VT, 2015).

84 Lia Markey, "Stradano's Allegorical Invention of the Americas in Late Sixteenth-Century Florence," *Renaissance Quarterly* 65, no. 2 (2012): 385–442.

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FIGURE 7.6 *Jan Collaert, after Jan van der Straet, called Stradanus,* The Production of Silk from *Nova Reperta, plate 8, Antwerp, 1590s, engraving.*
THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK, HARRIS BRISBANE DICK FUND, 1934, ACC.NO. 34.30 (9), CREATIVE COMMONS PUBLIC DOMAIN DEDICATION

of Emperor Suleiman as in the plate from Abraham de Bruyn's costume book seen earlier (see fig. 7.5) reflects a garment of a different quality from the rest of the book's costumes. De Bruyn's global costumes highlighted the shimmer of Ottoman silk, a raw material here celebrated as an exotic good; but Stradanus promoted it instead as a commodity being rapidly globalized. Stradanus also authored another series of engravings devoted to the seeding of that industry in Europe, as a type of domestication of silk production, the *Vermis Sericus* (1590–1600).[85] Exchange was embedded in the print's content; silk as a global industry or a raw material that could help to explain a network of exchange

85 See Nicholas Terpstra, "Working the Cocoon: Gendered Charitable Enclosures and the Silk Industry in Early Modern Europe," in *Worth and Repute: Valuing Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honour of Barbara Todd*, ed. Barbara J. Todd et al. (Toronto, 2011), 39–72. Many thanks to Lia Markey for this reference.

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that did not originate in Europe. Through new knowledge and new technology, elements of exchange were brought home—that shimmer of silk on Suleiman's gown was something that the global eye was best equipped to see.

Conclusion

This essay has argued for the role of prints in underwriting the cosmopolitan nature of the Renaissance, for their tendency to bridge geographic and cultural divides developed the idea of globality itself. European print centers established circulation patterns that strengthened an open market, creating both printers to fill the demand and vacuum, as well as international personalities on a grand scale. Printmakers established cosmopolitan and geographic content in maps, atlases, costume books, and related visual material. The global body elbowed its way into the margins of these printing pursuits that attempted to encompass the globe—the explorations of geographic difference in early modernity was made in equal parts maps and peoples. New content and values developed at the interstices of the market, printers and publics, giving rise to new themes, new practices and new relationships between output and reception. One of these new values was copies, a mode of production that went viral with print. Via copies and circulation surfaced new approaches to style, knowledge, subjectivity, and cross-cultural exchange as a mode of knowing.

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